1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 2:100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:59; Mori, [1535], 1889, p. 320), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1860, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1928 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1880, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1880, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 359). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1880, p. 119; Bourne, 1853, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:41, and ham. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 499, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

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342 414–415), but the skin tent with the two compartments as described by Maximilianus Transylvanus (1523, p. Av) suggests more the typical *Tehuelche* toldo of later times. This typical toldo (pl. 37, *bottom*; pl. 38, *bottom, right*) was made of three or more rows of stakes, diminishing in height from front to rear, and covered with guanaco skins sewn together and smeared with a mixture of grease and red paint. The inmost section was divided by skin screens into compartments, each married couple having their own compartment. The open side, facing east (to leeward), was sometimes, in winter or in bad weather, nearly [372] closed with other skins. The fire was made near the center of the open [513] side, a little within. Skins laid on the ground were used to sleep upon; covers were also of skins. The toldo, according to Spegazzini (1884, 592 p. 230) usually housed a man and his entire family, or an extended 596 family consisting of grandparents, children, and grandchildren, with their wives and offspring; while sometimes each of a man's wives and sons had a separate toldo. Apart from special gatherings, camps did 621 not contain more than about 20 toldos; more commonly they contained fewer.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The early *Tehuelche* men wore a pubic covering, later superseded by the chiripá, and some at least tied up the penis by the prepuce to their belt. (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498; cf. Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60; Noort, 1905, p. 191.) The early skin moccasinlike footwear, with hay stuffing, gave place among the later *Tehuelche* to the bota de potro (fig. 18, *e*) made from the dehaired skin of a horse's hock or of the leg of a large puma (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1916 b, 1918, 1935). In one post-Columbian burial in Chubut Territory were found two exceptional types of clothing, a piece of shell-disk spangled mantle and a sandal (Vignati, 1930, pp. 12–19, cf. citations, pp. 20–32, of sources on mantles and footwear). Guanaco-skin overshoes were sometimes worn (Musters, 1872, p. 196). Men's other garments were (pl. 39, *top*): A mantle of sewn skins of young or unborn guanaco, or of skunk, fox, or wildcat (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68; Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Musters, 1872, p. 196), reaching to or below the knee, secured by a belt, painted with polychrome geometric designs (fig. 19; cf. Lothrop, 1929), ordinarily worn with the hair inside, but sometimes in hot weather with the hair outside (Coan, 1880, p. 75); a woven woolen fillet; sometimes a poncho. The women's dress (pl. 39, *top*) consisted of: An apron pubic covering (cf. Vignati, 1931 e); an undergarment reaching from the armpits to the knees; a mantle like the men's, but fastened at the breast or shoulder; the bota de potro, when on horseback; sometimes a flattish straw hat.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Poya

Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them!]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Ona SH4

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PLATE II.—Ona and Tehuelche shelters. *Top:* Model of Tehuelche toldo. *Bottom:* Model of Ona wind shelter. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[p. 160 E]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Ona SH 4

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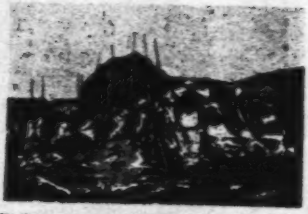

PLATE 38.—Ona and Tehuelche culture. *Top* (left): One man. (After Outes and Bruch, 1910, fig. 132.) *Top* (right): One man, painted for Kwekuni dance, an all-day ceremonial interlude during Kiliatern rite. No masks are worn in this dance and women take part. (After Gusinde, 1925 a, fig. 2.) *Bottom* (left): One cradle, length 30 in., or 76.3 cm. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 13.) *Bottom* (right): Tehuelche tolda, Province of Santa Cruz. (After Outes and Bruch, 1910, fig. 114.)

[p. 160 F]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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PLATE 28.—Tehuelche costume and ornament. *Top:* Clothing and adornment. (After d'Orbigny, 1847, *Voyages*, No. 1.) *Bottom:* Girls' puberty rite dance held by firelight. (After Musters, 1871, opposite page 153.)

[p. 160 G]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

the name of the country, Patagonia. These men used bows and arrows, and had with them four young guanacoes, with which they decoyed the wild ones within shot. Two young men were treacherously seized and carried off, howling and calling on their god Setebos. The natives naturally resented this return for their ready friendliness, and, attacking a party sent after them, killed one Spaniard with their arrows. Enough, however, was seen of them to furnish Pigafetta with some details. 'Their tents were light movable frames, covered with skins; their faces were painted; they were very swift of foot, had tools of sharp-edged flints, and ate their meat nearly raw.'

That the first knowledge of Patagonia was diffused in England by Pigafetta's narrative is suggested by Caliban's lines in the 'Tempest': 'He could command my dam's god Setebos;' but it was not till 1578 that the newly-discovered country was visited by Englishmen.

Sir Francis Drake in that year anchored in Seal Bay—probably a little to the south of Port Desire—and saw several Indians. His chaplain narrates their method of stalking the ostriches: 'They have a plume of ostrich feathers on a long staff, large enough to hide a man behind, and with this they stalk the ostriches.' He further says: 'They would have none of our company until such time as they were warranted by their god "Settaboth." They never cut their hair, which they make a storehouse for all the things they carry about—a quiver for arrows, a sheath for knives, a case for toothpicks, a box for fire-sticks, and what not; they are fond of dancing with rattles round their waists; they have clean, comely, and strong bodies, are swift of foot, very active, a goodly and lively people. Magellan was not alto-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

to be good friends. The whole were housed in five toldos—by which Spanish name the Indian kau, or tents, strongly resembling those of our own gipsies, are known. They were pitched in a sheltered hollow, with their fronts facing the east, to avoid the bitter violence of the prevalent westerly winds.

Fitzroy has given an excellent description of the toldo; but to those readers who are unacquainted with it a brief sketch will not be unacceptable. A row of forked posts about three feet high is driven into the ground in a slightly slanting position, and a ridge pole laid across them; in front of these, at a distance of about seven feet, a second row, six feet high, with a ridge pole; and at the same distance from them a third row, eight feet high, each slanting a little, but not at the same angle. A covering made of from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins, smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and the great drag of the heavy covering straightens the poles; it is then secured by thongs to the front poles, while hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping-places, and the baggage piled round the sides of the tent excludes the cold blast which penetrates under the edge of the covering. The fire is kindled in the fore part, or 'mouth of the tent.' In very bad weather, or when encamped for the winter, an additional covering is secured to the front poles and brought down over an extra row of short posts, making all snug. It is a common arrangement for relatives or friends to combine their toldos, when, instead of bringing down the coverings to the ground at the side, they are made to overlap, and thus one tent roof will cover two or three distinct domestic interiors.

The furniture of the toldos consists of one or two bolsters and a horse hide or two to each sleeping compartment, one to act as a curtain and the other for bedding. The bolsters are made of old ponchos, or lechus, otherwise called mandils, woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, who are

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

haps my shaggy hair and dress, not altogether of the neatest, may have been against me.

The Indians were soon in full enjoyment of some grog and biscuits, which they naturally asked me to share. After a bite and a sup, finding the proceedings slow, I left the room, and shortly after met Mr. Alexander Fraser and Mr. Grenfell, the owners of an estancia a few miles lower down the river; and after introducing myself, was most kindly received, and supplied with cash, a civilised medium of which I had not a sou to enable me to gratify the desire of treating my Indian friends to a bottle or two of wine and spirits and a few loaves of bread.

Mr. Fraser hospitably pressed me to come on to his establishment at once, but being desirous of handing the letters to the Commandante without delay, I returned across the river with the Indians.

A foretaste of Rio Negro manners was given us at the other side, as one of the horses, saddle, lazo and all, was missing—stolen by some of the civilised inhabitants. The horse belonged to El Ingles, and had been lent to Meña to go down from the encampment to the Guardia; the lazo belonged to me.

At the camp most of the people got more or less drunk, and Nacho received a richly-deserved thrashing for being pugnacious, after which he was lashed down, and left to cool in the frost for an hour.

In the morning I started for Patagones, accompanied by El Ingles and another Indian; but as our horses proved to be too tired to proceed into Patagones, we stopped for the night in a toldo at San Xaviel, the head-quarters of Linares and his tame Indians.

I took up my quarters at the toldo of one Chaloupe, and after supper, being desirous of communicating the political arrangements to the chief, proceeded on horseback behind another horseman, who proved to be a brother of Rouque Pinto, to the chief's residence, a long, low house.

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrowbones of the game killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kou", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

itory a brass tinder-box, with a stone and a piece of steel, and soon produced a blaze that brilliantly illuminated the scene. By its light I was enabled to survey the first specimen of Patagonian architecture that had blessed my vision. It was constructed in a *pointed* style, though not very aspiring, consisting of a row of stakes about eight feet high, each terminating at top in a crotch, or fork, with a pole laid across them; two parallel rows of stakes on either side, about two feet high, with similar terminations, and a similar horizontal fixture; and a covering composed of skins of the guanaco, sewed together with the sinews of the ostrich, the only thread used by the people. This covering is drawn over the frame-work, and fastened by stakes driven through it into the ground. For purposes of ventilation some interstices are left, but these again are half closed by skins attached to the outside; so that the air from without, and the smoke from within (in default of a chimney), must insinuate themselves through these apertures in great moderation. In truth, my first survey was rather hurried; the first cheerful gleam had scarcely set my eyes on the look-out when I was fain to shut them against an intolerable smoke. In no long time I felt as bacon, if conscious, might be supposed to feel in the process of curing. No lapse of time was sufficient to reconcile my eyes, nostrils and lungs, to the nuisance; often have I been more than half strangled by it, and compelled to lie with my face to the ground, as the only endurable position. Talk that is "worse than a smoky house" must be something out of date, or Shakspeare's imagination never comprehended anything so detestable as a Patagonian hut. The chief and his numer-

462 woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this.
[342 In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made
281] always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which
go to make bedding and clothing, these usually being made of hare,
skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are collected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local
need are bartered with the Indians of Rio Negro for horses, clothing,
beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their
438 periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the
Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards
until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these
regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must
be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to
[281 sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Rio
283] Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which
they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

622 The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in re-
484 gard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live.
203 When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a
loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All
the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent.
He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns
a time for rounding up [71] the horses, for striking the tents and for
starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready
484 as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the
watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the
224 baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out
and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the
guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away.
The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such
speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the
bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself
assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco beat, for which
[622] in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief
never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from
484 stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On ar-
riving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, col-
[313 lect firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The
462] latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of
them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued
on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

It is improbable that these parts
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 135
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it
at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing
from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according
to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lasso, and also 411
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [439]
Aires or [79] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find
iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great
deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even
though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only
avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it
by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [714]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no
knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their
heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt
to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more
vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and
do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered
or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is
usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that
they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164 842]
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them.

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small
lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where
there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this
the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the
Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 342
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other;
beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter
poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones
at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six
others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they
place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all
of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains
of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 592
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 836
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 837
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 578
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [157]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 123
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1783
Antonio de Viedma [81]